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FORERUNNERS OF THE ROMANCE ADVERBIAL SUFFIX

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A few years ago there appeared in *Classical Philology* (V, 83-96) an article by Professor Shorey called "A Greek Analogue of the Romance Adverb." In that paper he directed attention to the large number of dative phrases which are practically adverbial in their character. The most obvious illustrations are such word-groups as $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota} \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega = \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{o}\iota\omega \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega = \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. In like manner $\pi\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\hat{\eta} \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ corresponds to $\pi\upsilon\kappa\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, and $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$ to $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$. Examples might be multiplied with such words as $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}$, $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, $\mu\acute{o}\rho\omega$, $\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$, $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$, $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega$, $\sigma\delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega$.

It is the purpose of the present monograph to parallel for Latin what Professor Shorey has done for Greek. Every classical and Romance scholar is well aware of the fact that the Latin ablative *mente* crystallized into the adverbial suffix *-mente* of the Italian and Spanish and *-ment* in French.

There were, however, many Latin words whose instrumental form acquired, or started to acquire, modal force, and which, so far as meaning is concerned, might have served equally well as adverbial suffixes. *Mente* was, in fact, a rather tardy competitor for the honor and had to elbow aside older contestants. Even in our Latin texts we find *opere* and *modis* attached to words in the fashion of suffixes.

The adverbial nature of certain ablative phrases can be seen most readily in sentences in which they are employed in concinnity with pure adverbs: e.g., "me victitare pulchre, te miseris modis" (Plautus *Most.* 54; cf. "misere vivere," Plautus *Aul.* 315); "ego illam exemplis plurimis planeque amo" (Plautus *Bacch.* 505); "more hoc fit atque stulte" (Plautus *Stich.* 641); "auribus teneo lupum: nam neque *quo pacto* a me amittam neque *uti* retineam scio" (Ter. *Phor.* 506-7); "satis recte aut vera ratione augurem" (*Acc.* 87); "responsa dedere sanctius et multo certa ratione magis" (Lucr. 1. 738); "multimodis, temere, incassum frustra¹ coacta" (Lucr. 2. 1060); "non modo libenter, sed etiam aequo animo legere" (Cic. *Att.* xii. 4. 2); "magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt" (Cic. *Off.* i. 18. 61); "aguntur leniter et mente tranquilla" (Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 25. 55); "quas difficultates patienter atque aequo animo ferebant" (Caes. *B.C.* iii. 15); "quo liberius ac minore periculo <=minus periculose> milites aquarentur" (Caes. *B.C.* iii. 66. 6); "muliebriter forsitan, sed fida mente" (Quint. *Curt.* viii. 3. 7).

Very frequently a phrasal ablative contains a word or idea cognate with that of the verb. The noun then becomes merely a mechanical device, a peg on which to suspend an idea, with approximately the force of an adverbial suffix: e.g., "quibus moratam moribus" (Ter. *Hec.* 644); "Blanda voce <=blande> vocabam" (Enn. ap. Cic. *Div.* i. 20. 41); "Rauco mihi dixerat ore" (Ov. *Met.* 5. 600); "Ille ducem haud timidus vadentem passibus¹ aequat" (*Aen.* 6. 263). "Sic . . . locutus" (*Aen.* 5. 14; 303; 400) is synonymous with "Tali . . . ore locutus" (*Aen.* 4. 276). Such ablatives express an adverbial idea in much the same fashion as an adverbial cognate accusative: e.g., "torva tuentem" (*Aen.* 6. 467); "magna sonaturum" (Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 44); "dulce ridentem" (Hor. *Carm.* i. 22. 23). Such an accusative may, in fact, be used in concinnity with an adverb: e.g., "timide et pauca [i.e., briefly] dicamus" (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 16. 47).

When ablative groups have crystallized into adverbial phrases, they are used with verbs to which they would not otherwise be strictly appropriate: e.g., "aequo animo audire non poteram" (Fronto *Ep. ad M. Caesarem* iv. 12); "Non possum animo aequo

¹ The writer construes *timidis passibus* with *vadentem*.

videre tot tam importunos, tam sceleratos hostis" (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 8. 20); "*annos cum dat a me misero triste <=tristi> ore ducendos*" (CIL, XIII, 1602); "*Tu qui secura procedis mente*" (CIL, VI, 12652).

The breast, heart, and mind were at one time or another regarded as seats of various aspects of our mental and emotional life. In addition, the carriage and expression of the instrumental parts of the body reflect the feelings of the *pectus*, *cor*, and *mens*.¹ It makes but little difference, therefore, whether a person acts or does things bravely (timidly, gladly, sadly, freely, mindfully, etc.), or with brave (timid, glad, sad, free, mindful, etc.) breast, heart, mind, mouth, foot, hand, and even voice and pace.

It may be stated by way of parenthesis that the writer cannot hope that all readers will agree with him (or with one another) as to the presence or absence of modal value in certain ablatives cited, nor does he himself exclude the possibility of an alternative interpretation at times. In several examples quoted the construction of attendant circumstance or locative ablative will afford a convenient refuge for those disposed to argue the question. The very fact, however, of the possibility of more than one interpretation, or of an *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction, shows that development was going on and is sufficient indication that words denoting the instrumental parts of the body were acquiring modal force and might have crystallized into the Romance adverbial suffix.² The tendency is for the modifying adjective to stand out more and more clearly in relief while the noun recedes gradually into the background. There is not so much room for difference of opinion with regard to the more general words denoting method, manner, agreement (*modo*, *more*, *pacto*), etc.

In the first three captions following it will be noticed that *pectus*, *cor*, and *mens*³ are each modified by *pius*, *purus*, and *totus*. This shows how colorless and interchangeable these words became.

¹ See E. S. McCartney, "Some Folk-Lore of Ancient Anatomy and Physiology," *Class. Weekly*, XII, 18-21; 26-29; 35-38.

² The adverbs, as far as we can trace their origin, are almost exclusively the outcome of crystallized cases of nouns, and to some extent of the combination of a preposition with its case (Paul, *Principles of Language* [Strong], p. 422).

³ In the case of *mens* the expressions are in the note.

NON-INSTRUMENTAL PARTS OF THE BODY

PECTUS

"Pectore qui vixit semper puroque pioque" (Eng., p. 103);¹ "Te . . . iam pectore toto < = whole-heartedly > accipio" (*Aen.* 9. 275-77); "Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta" (Hor. *Ser.* ii. 4. 90: cf. "ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras," Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 31); "forti sequemur pectore" (Hor. *Epod.* 1. 14); "Liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx" (Catull. 64. 123); "nimium, Alcide, pectore forti properas maestos visere manes" (Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 186-87); qui se hominem meminit, securo pectore vivat" (*CIL*, VI, 17104); "Quis illaec est mulier timido pectore peregre adveniens?" (Plautus *Epid.* 533); "pectore sancto < = reverently > non monimenta patri, sed nova templa dedit" (Chol., 878b). In the next sentence *toto pectore* seems to modify *dives* and to mean "entirely": "set securus eris, set toto pectore dives" (Chol., 878). *Toto pectore* can hardly be specification.

Uber, when synonymous with *pectus*, seems to be used in the same way:

Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto < = laete? >²
Accipiet reduces (*Aen.* iii. 94-96).

COR

"Quaerite corde pio caelum" (Eng., p. 119); "Salvete fratres puro corde et simplici" ("Greet your brothers purely and simply" [Anthol., 115]); "O penitus toto corde³ recepte mihi" (Ov. *Ep.* 19. 156); "Utinam ne Colchis cupido corde pedem extulisses" (*Enn.* 1. 241, Ribbeck); "(Hoc auferam) lubentissimo corde atque animo" (Plautus *Pseud.* 1321).

MENTE⁴

Mente was slow in getting a start toward adverbial usage, but it gathered momentum in course of time: "ille traversa mente mi

¹ The following arbitrary abbreviations are used in this paper: Eng. = Engström, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*; Chol. = Cholodniak, *Carmina Sepulcralia Latina*; Anthol. = Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

² Perhaps *ubere laeto* has both modal and instrumental force.

³ In this expression the locative idea may be in relief if *toto corde* more accurately defines *penitus*.

⁴ Cf. *φρενί*, Shorey, pp. 85-87.

hodie tradidit repagula" (Frag. 269 Sc. Vahlen); "aguntur <ista> leniter et mente tranquilla" (Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 25. 55); "ut numquam liceat quieta mente consistere" (Cic. *Div.* ii. 72. 149); "furiata mente ferebar" (Verg. *Aen.* 2. 588); "Sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit, Tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque" (Catull. 64. 200-201); "insana mente nefanda loqui" (Tibull. ii. 6. 18); "turbata mente respondit" (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 22. 3); "peccas honesta mente" (Sen. *Phoen.* 97); "ut verba natae mente placata audias" (Sen. *Phoen.* 183); "secura procedis mente" (Chol., 93); "munera parva quidem, sed data mente pia" (Eng., 298).

This use of the ablative *mente* is so important as the forerunner of the Romance adverbial suffix that additional illustrations are given in the notes.¹ Still others may be found in Professor Shorey's article.

ANIMO

The adverbial use of *animo* is extremely common in the days of Cicero and Caesar, but it is worth noting that the usage was already

¹ "particulas . . . in ordinem adductas mente divina" (Cic. *Ac.* ii. 37. 118); "tota mente mater de pernicie fili cogitaret" (Cic. *Cluent.* 66. 190); "quos tu impia mente conquis" (Cic. *Har. Resp.* 13. 26); "ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras" (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 31); "sensit enim simulata mente locutam" (*Aen.* 4. 105); "hac . . . mente tradit" (Nep. *Dion.* 9. 1); "tacita mente rogat" (Tibull. ii. 6. 16); "sagaci mente" (Lucr. 1. 1022; 5. 420); "conlecta mente reverti" (Lucr. 2. 961); "divina mente coorta" (Lucr. 3. 15); "memori repraehendere mente" (Lucr. 3. 859); "pacata mente tueri" (Lucr. 5. 1203); "ea mente acturam ut . . . " (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 40. 16); "mente turbata feror" (Sen. *Oct.* 713); "Acheron profundum mente non aequa tulit" (Sen. *Oed.* 578); "sed uterque letum mente generosa tulit" (Sen. *Tro.* 1064); "incerta vaecors mente vaesana feror" (Sen. *Med.* 123); "ego ignoro ea te mente Alsium isse" (Fronto, p. 224, Naber); "improvida mente" (Eugippus 5. 3); "secura mente occidit" (Chol., 792); "mente dedere pia" (Chol., 601); "militiae studiis secura mente vacavi" (Anthol., 1429); "quem pura mente parentes optabant" (Anthol., 770).

Some of the Romance descendants of the Latin expressions are given in the table below:

LATIN	FRENCH	SPANISH	ITALIAN
tranquilla mente	tranquillement	tranquilamente	tranquillamente
honesta mente	honnêtement	honestamente	onestamente
secura mente	sûrement	seguramente	sicuramente
divina mente	divinement	divinamente	divinamente
tota mente	totalément	totalmente	totalmente
conlecta mente	collectivement	colectivamente	collettivamente
generosa mente	généreusement	generosamente	generosamente
pia mente	pieusement	piadosamente	piamente
pura mente	purement	puramente	puramente
aequa mente	également	igualmente	ugualmente
tacita mente	tacitement	tacitamente	tacitamente

well established in Plautus: e.g., "oratum advenio ut animo aequo ignoscas mihi" (*Aul.* 739); "si quid fecero, clementi animo ignoscet" (*Mil.* 1252); "iubet bono ut animo sedeant in subselliis" (*Poen.* 5); "lubenti edepol animo factum et fiet a me" (*Cist.* 12).¹

As was the case with *pectus*, *cor*, and *mens*, the adjective *pius* may be used with *animo*: e.g., "corde animoque pio posuit donaria Victor" (*Chol.*, 63). Other examples are: "uno animo omnes socrus oderunt nurus" (*Ter. Hec.* 201); "scripsi sedatiore animo" (*Cic. Att.* viii. 3. 7); "aequo animo paratoque moriar" (*Cic. Cat.* iv. 2. 3); "se . . . subitum eam tempestatem forti animo" (*Liv.* iv. 44. 9); "simplici animo vivens" (*Chol.*, 880c).

In later Latin the root *anim-*+*iter* started to develop into an adverbial suffix (e.g., *aequanimiter*, *unanimiter*), but met too much opposition.

INSTRUMENTAL PARTS OF THE BODY

The instrumental parts of the body are used at times in constructions very similar to those just discussed. It is possible, however, to explain the usage in a slightly different way. As stated before, the lips, hands, and feet, for instance, by their carriage or expression very often reflect the state of mind and hence have applied to them adjectives that are strictly appropriate only for the *mens*. In many cases, however, so much emphasis falls on the adjective that the noun is colorless.

ORE

Memor and *pius*, which were used with nouns of the first group, may likewise modify *os*: "Auditos memori ore sonos" (*Ov. Ars Am.* 3. 700); "pio si poenas ore reposco" (*Verg. Aen.* 6. 530). Other examples are "Auditis ille haec placido sic reddidit ore" (*Aen.* 11. 251); "Quodque deus vero Cynthus ore feram" (*Tibull.* iii. 4. 50). In these expressions the instrumental idea cannot, perhaps, be excluded, but "Blando . . . ore locutus" (*Val. Flacc.* 8. 36) does not differ in thought from "blande adloqui" (Plautus *Truc.* 225). The similarity of "Sic locutus" and "Tali ore locutus" has already been noted.

¹ See Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s.v., *animus*. See also Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin, The Cases*, p. 307; Hidén, *De Casuum Syntaxi Lucretiana*, Fugner, *Lexicon Livianum*, s.v., *animus*.

VOCE

Voce is employed in the same manner as *ore*: e.g., “*blanda voce vocabam*” (Enn. ap. Cic. *Div.* i. 20. 41); “*tristi . . . voce locutus*” (Ov. *Met.* 7. 517); “*tacita quoque carmina voce dixit*” (Ov. *Met.* 9. 300); “*voce blandiloqua dictus*” (Sen. *Ag.* 290). “*Tali compellat voce*” (Lucan. *Phars.* 9. 226) has the same force as “*sic compellat*” (Enn. *Ann.* 251, Vahlen). With the second quotation from Ovid, compare “*tacita mente rogat*” (Tibull. iv. 6. 16).

LINGUA

In a line of *Naevius* (*Com. Rel.* 112, Ribbeck), the word *lingua* is due chiefly to the desire for alliteration: “*Libera lingua loquemur ludis Liberalibus*”; but compare “*libero ore locutus*” (Sall. *Jug.* 95. 2); “*corde libero fabulare*” (Plautus *Epid.* 146); “*loquar libere*” (Plautus *Truc.* 212).

MANU¹

The ablative *manu* is used very freely in Latin, yet it is hard to find examples which must be regarded as purely modal. In the next two quotations *nox* and *amnis* are probably personified, thus making the ablatives instrumental: “*bellum aequis manibus nox intempestata diremit*” (Enn. *Ann.* 167, Vahlen); “*manu magna Romanos impulit amnis*” (Enn. *Ann.* 569, Vahlen).

Manu is modified, especially in Seneca, by many adjectives denoting qualities or states of mind. It is clear that the adjective carries the principal idea, but the instrumental force of *manu* is not entirely obliterated: “*complexus aras ille tremibunda manu*” (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 810); “*luctifica manu vastam rogo flagrante corripit trabem*” (Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 102–3). Compare other uses in Seneca: “*feroci manu*” (*Herc. Oet.* 373); “*saeva manu*” (*Herc. Oet.* 429, 522); “*trepida manu*” (*Herc. Fur.* 341; *Herc. Oet.* 654, 768–69); “*manu trementi*” (*Ag.* 380–81); “*facili manu*” (*Oct.* 483); “*incesta manu*” (*Oct.* 854); “*funesta manu*” (*Oct.* 954); “*enthea manu*” (*Oed.* 628); “*avaris manibus*” (*Oct.* 435).

In a passage in Horace (*Carm.* iii. 16. 43–44), *parca manu* is virtually *parce*: “*bene est cui deus obtulit parca quod satis est manu.*” In the next quotation “*languida manu*” seems to have full modal force, since one does not ordinarily govern by the hand: “*qui vult amari, languida regnat manu*” (Sen. *Phoen.* 659).

¹Cf. χε[ι]ρῇ, Shorey, p. 90.

Things may be done *grata manu*: e.g., "Hoc tumolo cineres atque ossa novissima coniux Terpsichore grata condidit ipse manu" (Chol., 70), or *grata mente*: e.g., "haec inter nos grata mente facientes" (Cassiodorus *Varia* v. 1. 3).

There are, however, *manu* phrases in which the adverbial character is quite clear. In one instance Cicero uses such a phrase in concinnity with pure adverbs: "At hercule alter tuus familiaris Hortalus quam plena manu [i.e., generously], quam ingenue, quam ornate nostra laudes in astra sustulit, cum de praetura et de illo tempore Allobrogum diceret" (*Att.* ii. 25. 1). *Plena manu* in the sense of abundantly, generously, is used on several occasions by Seneca (*Ben.* i. 7. 2; *Ep.* 120. 10; *Ad Polyb.* 9. 7). *Utraque manu* means "willingly," "readily," in one passage in *Martial*: "Haec utraque manu complexusque assere toto" (i. 15. 9). Such adverbial usage reached the height of its development in expressions like *longa manu*, "slowly," "tediously" (*Dig.* xlv. 3. 79), and *brevi manu*, "immediately" (*Dig.* xxiii. 3. 43, §1).

In most of the examples cited with *manu*, qualities of the mind or heart are transferred to the hand. In the last two instances, however, the *manu* has become about as colorless as the adverbial suffix *-ly* in English.

PEDE¹

As was the case with *manus*, Seneca transfers states or qualities of mind to *pes* much more freely than earlier writers: "Nec qui superbo miserias calcem pede" (*Med.* 253); "funesto pede intravit aulam" (*Oct.* 161-62); "templa Phoebi supplici intravi pede" (*Oed.* 225). The plural is employed in the same way: "qui pedibus rectis graditur, mala nulla veretur" (Corippus in *Laudem Justini* 2. 227). These ablatives are used with verbs of motion, and one is inclined to regard them as means, yet *modo* would have done as well: cf. "medium subit illa per agmen, non humili festina modo" (*Stat. Theb.* 4. 798-99).

A superstition gives rise to an interesting adverbial usage: "Quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te conatus non paeniteat votique peracti" (Juv. 10. 5); "cessisse parentibus omne Idalium semper feliciter et pede dextro" (Prudent. *Symm.* ii. 78-79).

¹Cf. *ποδί*, Shorey, p. 90.

One may walk with timid foot, "timido pede percitus vadit" (Lucil. 795, Marx), or with timid breast, "mulier timido pectore peregre adveniens" (Plautus *Epid.* 533). One may proceed with quick foot as well as quickly: "Tu pede qui stricto vadis per semita" (Anthol. 434). The very fact that the singular *pede* instead of *pedibus* is used here shows that the instrumental force is not predominant.

The subjects are probably personified in the following quotations: "liquido pede labitur unda" (Verg. *Cul.* 17; cf. "liquida mente vidit," Catull. 63. 46); "levis crepante lymphæ desilit pede" (Hor. *Ep.* 16. 48); compare "from standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole with soft foot toward the deep" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book XI, l. 847).

A fine instance of personification occurs in Horace's *Odes* (i. 4. 13-14): "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turris."¹ The Shorey-Laing edition of Horace parallels this by a passage written under its influence: "Pale death with equal foot strikes wide the door | Of royal halls and hovels of the poor."²

GRADU, GRESSU, PASSU

Gradu, *gressu*, and *passu* are not much different from *pede*, since to them, too, mental states and qualities are attributed: "agite exulem funesto gradu" (Sen. *Oed.* 648); "ut profugus urbem liquit infesto gradu" (Sen. *Phaed.* 1000); "sublimi gradu incedit Ithacus" (Sen. *Tro.* 1088-89); "gradu segni pergit" (*Tro.* 1090-91); "perge non dubio gradu" (Sen. *Thy.* 490); "pavitante gressu sequere" (Sen. *Oed.* 1047); "gressu ruit attonito" (Sen. *Oct.* 778). Compare "We shall go down with unreluctant tread, Rose-crowned into the darkness" (Rupert Brooke, *The Hill*); "Fate steals along with silent tread" (Cowper, *A Fable*, l. 36).

A person may move with hasty *pede*, *gradu*, *gressu*, *passu*, or hastily: "celeri pede laberis" (Sen. *Phaed.* 763); "repetite celeri maria, captivæ, gradu" (Sen. *Tro.* 1178); "propero regiam gressu

¹ Cf. also "Iam veniet tacito curva senecta pede" (Ov *Ars. Amat.* 2. 670); "Nec venit tardo curva senecta pede" (Tibull. iii. 5. 16); "Non tardo labitur illa (aetas) pede" (Tibull. i. 8. 43); "Sera tamen tacitis poena venit pedibus" (Tibull. i. 9. 4).

² Cowper, *Yearly Bill of Mortality*, 1787.

pete" (Sen. *Oed.* 880); cf. "propere properare" (Plautus *Curc.* 535; 688; *Aul.* 393); "hinc campum celeri passu permensa" (Enn. *ap. Non.* 37. 8); "huc propere admove" (Sen. *Oed.* 334).

How far such expressions may depart from their original meaning is shown by the use of *gradus* to denote verbal pace: "Ecce praecipiti gradu secreta mentis ore confuso exerit" (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 254-55).

Cursu is used at times much like *gradu*: e.g., "ut tigris orbanatis cursu furente lustrat Gangeticum nemus" (Sen. *Med.* 863-65). It is, of course, possible to construe *cursu furente* as a locative, but it seems analogous to "furiata mente ferebar" (*Aen.* 2. 588).

Several interesting uses occur with *aure*: "missasque voces aure sollicita excipit" (Sen. *Tro.* 617): cf. "id sacrum nec sollicita nec profana mente debebis opperiri" (Ap. *Met.* xi. 5. 27); "parumper aure verba patienti excipe" (Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 361): cf. "gravia quisquis vulnera patiente et aequo mutus animo pertulit" (Sen. *Med.* 151-52); "Barbaricos docili concipit aure sonos" (Claudian *Carm. Min.* 22 [51]. 8, Jeep); "voces aure non timida hauriam" (Sen. *Oed.* 385).

A few uses of *voltu* are sufficiently close to adverbial usage to merit quotation: "qui eo voltu <almost=ita> nos intuetur ut sibi ipse peracutus esse videatur" (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 44. 108); "Viden tu hunc quam inimico <=inimice> voltu intuitur" (Plautus *Capt.* 557); "Sed en citato Pyrrhus accurrit gradu vultuque torvo" (Sen. *Tro.* 999-1000).¹ In the last quotation, if *vultu torvo* does not denote attendant circumstance, it almost certainly equals *torve*, since one cannot approach by means of a fierce visage.

ABSTRACT WORDS DENOTING METHOD, MANNER, ETC.

In addition to the group of words denoting a part of the body, there is another rather large class composed of abstract words denoting method, manner, agreement, plan, etc. In this category the adverbial usage is much clearer.

MODO²

Through wear and tear the instrumental *modo*, "by method," very early acquired a modal force, so that *hoc modo*=*sic*, just as τὸνδε τὸν τρόπον=οὕτως. *Modo* is used in adverbial phrases more

¹ Cf. also "Sed quotiens bonus atque fidus | Iudex honestum praetulit utili | Reiecit alto dona nocentium | Voltu" (Hor. *Carm.* iv. 9. 40-43). Here *alto vultu* approximates *superbe*.

² Cf. τὸν τρόπον, Shorey, p. 89.

frequently than any other word. Even the plural becomes adverbial: "Deludificatust me hodie indignis modis" (Plautus *Most.* 1033); "omnibu' modis temptare" (Plautus *Stich.* 684); "caecis verba nectentem modis" (Sen. *Oed.* 92; cf. *Phoen.* 132). The adverbial nature of such expressions becomes so pronounced that finally they modify even adjectives: "mira miris modis" (Plautus *Cas.* 625); "multis modis fidus" (Plautus *Most.* 785); "multis modis enormis" (*Quint.* xi. 3. 139); "ora modis . . . pallida miris" (*Aen.* 1. 354); "Simulacra modis pallentia miris" (Verg. *Georg.* 1. 477).¹

When the *s* of the modifying adjectives wore off ("saepe brevitatibus causa contrahebant ut ita dicerent multi' modis" [Cic. *Orat.* 153]), *multimodis*, *mirimodis*, and along with them, *omnimodo* became full-fledged adverbial compounds analogous in formation to the adjectives *multigenis*, *multiplex*: e.g., "Nomen multimodis scriptumst tuom" (Plautus *Pers.* 706); "mirimodis mirabilis" (Plautus *Trin.* 931). *Omnimodo* occurs for instance in Gellius xviii. 15. 2. *Omnimodis*, which was formed by false analogy, is said by Harpers' *Dictionary* to be only Lucretian and late Latin. It occurs in Lucretius 1. 683; 2. 489; 3. 406; 5. 1024, etc. *Quo* and *modo* are at times written as one word.

Some accusative adverbial phrases may be noted in passing: "perpetuom in modum" (Plaut. *Most.* iii. 1. 5); "servilem in modum" (Cic. *Verr.* i. 5. 13); "mirum in modum" (Caes. *B.G.* 1. 41); "hostilem in modum" (Liv. i. 5. 4; cf. "hostili modo," Auct. *B. Alex.* 59); "foedum in modum" (Liv. xxiii. 7. 3).

EXEMPLO

The word *exemplum* comes from *eximere*, "to take out," i.e., as a sample, pattern, or model: e.g., "Quisquis amat coniunx, hoc exemplo coniungat amorem" (Chol., 192); "si istoc exemplo omnibus qui quaerunt, respondebis" (Plautus *As.* 389). In Plautus the word is used very frequently of punishments that make "examples" of their victims, but it is found with verbs other than those of punishing and amounts to little more than an adverbial suffix: e.g., "di deaeque me omnes pessumis exemplis interficiant" (*Most.* 192; cf. *Capt.*

¹ Cf. also "Edidit haec dulci tristia verba modo" (Tibull. iii. 4. 42); "Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum" (Hor. *Carm.* ii. 17. 21-22); "Tu semper urges flebilibus modis Mysten ademptum" (Hor. *Carm.* ii. 9. 9-10).

691); "Perii hercle, ni ego illam pessumis exemplis enicasso" (*Most.* 212); "hoc opto, moriari malis exemplis cruciatus et ipse" (*Eng.*, p. 43); "exemploque pari furit omnis turba" (*Ov. Met.* 3. 122). *Quis exemplis* differs but very little from *ut*, "how:" "Narravero quis med exemplis hodie eludificatus est" (*Most.* 1040-41).

It can thus be seen how *exemplis* became synonymous with *modis*: "quot amans exemplis ludificetur, quot modis pereat" (Plautus *Truc.* 26-27); "Miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus, Mirisque exemplis somnia in somnis danunt" (Plautus *Rud.* 593-94).

PACTO

Pacto, "by agreement," finally wears down until it becomes in some of its uses a synonym of *modo*, and relieves it of some of its burden: "alio pacto < =aliter> haud poterat fieri" (Ter. *And.* 792); "Nunc certa res est, eodem pacto < =ita> ut comici servi solent, coniciam" (Plautus *Capt.* 778-79); "Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui" (Cic. *Cat.* i. 7. 17).¹ *Nescio quo pacto* is an alternative for *nescio quo modo*.

Quo pacto is frequently used by Lucretius. Merrill, commenting on l. 84, says it is a phrase half antique, half poetic. It is, however, common in Cicero, as reference to Merguet will show.

GENERE

Even the ablative *genere* is used in the adverbial construction. In all probability it was so employed under the influence of *modo*, of which it is a synonym in some of its uses: e.g., "cum maesti deliberaremus quonam genere praesentem evitarem procellam" (Petr. 26. 8); "sed nullo genere par erat causa" (Petr. 14. 7); "quo genere accipienti maxime profuturum erit" (Sen. *Ben.* ii. 10. 2); "armare se coepit multis generibus" (Sen. *Epist. Mor.* 95. 29).

OPERE

The adverbial use of *opere* seems to be limited to adjectives denoting degree. It prevented the regular formation of adverbs from the adjectives *tantus* and *quantus*, and stunted the growth of *magne*² and *summe*.

¹ See also Ebrard, p. 592; Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-10.

² *Magna ex parte* might have competed with *magno opere* as a substitute for *magne* had not the latter form been assisted by *tanto opere*, etc.

With *magno*, *tanto*, and *maximo*, it is common in Plautus in connection with verbs of requesting and beseeching: "vos omnis opere magno esse oratos volo" (*Cas. Prol.* 21); "opere oravit maximo" (*Mil. Glor.* 75); "tanto opere orabat" (*Cas.* 531). A few other words are used in this construction: "nimio opere delectant" (*Cic. Parad.* 36); "quanto se opere custodiant bestiae" (*Cic. Nat.* 2. 726); "ille eo maiore hinc opere ex te exemplum petit" (Plautus *Most.* 763); "omnia summo opere hos vitae postscenia celant" (*Lucr.* 4. 1186).

With some of these words *opere* is really at times an adverbial suffix: "Vitia vero haec sunt quae *summopere* vitare oportebit" (*Cic. Inv.* i. 18. 26); "neque enim *tantopere* hanc a Crasso disputationem desideratam, *quantopere*¹ eius in causis oratione delector" (*Cic. De orat.* i. 35. 164); "cur pecuniam *magnopere* desideret" (*Cic. Tusc.* 5. 89). Harpers' *Dictionary* says that *magnopere* is "so written by Plaut., Caes., Livy and Sen., but ap. Ter., Cic., Plin., H.N., the best MSS. and edd. have magno opere."

How far such expressions have strayed from their original instrumental force is shown by their ability to modify an adjective: "quod mobile tanto operest" (*Lucr.* 3. 186).

OPERA

Perhaps under the influence of *opere*, *opera* began to develop along the same lines: "una opera mihi sunt sodales qua iste" (Plautus *Capt.* 562-63); "Pol qua opera credam tibi, una opera adligem fugitivam canem" (Plautus *Pseud.* 318-19); "Una opera (me) in furnum calidum condito, qua opera impetres" (Plautus *Cas.* 309); "una opera . . . postules" (Plautus *Most.* 259); "iubeas una opera me piscari in aëre" (Plautus *As.* 99). Compare Livy's use of *ope*: "rem summa ope taceri iubent" (i. 56. 11).

RATIONE

Ratione, "by plan," is used in this construction more frequently by Lucretius, perhaps, than by any other writer: "Nec ratione alia <=aliter> volucres . . . subsidere possent" (4. 1197-98); "Et ne cetera consimili ratione <=likewise> sequantur" (1. 1104); "errantes caeca ratione feruntur" (6. 67); "quam facili et celeri ratione genantur" (4. 143).²

¹ Some texts do, however, write *quanto opere*.

² See Hidén, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43.

MORE (MORIBUS)

More, too, becomes a partial synonym of *modo*: "maritumis moribu' mecum expetitur" (Plautus *Cist.* 221); "nisi forte tu perverso more . . . huic eripere" (Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 56); "quae (casae) more Gallico stramentis erant tectae" (Caes. *B.G.* v. 43. 1); "inaudito more . . . unxerunt" (Petr. 70. 8); "legitimo more sepulta (ossa) fove" (*CIL*, VI, 6319). A cognate ablative is seen in the following: "quibus moratam moribus" < = quam moratam > (Ter. *Hec.* 644); cf. "perversa mente moratus" (Commodianus *Instr.* i. 26. 24).

VICE (VICIBUS)

Both *vice* and *vicibus* are used adverbially: "fervet semper fluctus alterna vice" (Sen. *Ag.* 561; cf. *Thy.* 25; *Phaed.* 441); "Fortuna varia dubia quos agitat vice" (Sen. *Med.* 287); "mutua vice sustinetur et sustinet" (*Col.* iv. 16. 4); "versa vice" (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 470; cf. *Dig.* xliii. 29. 3); "aeterna vice" (Sen. *Oet.* 233); "vicissim Cato de consulatu suo qui 'maximis vicibus' inquit 'ac vicissim'" (Charis., Keil. 1, p. 224); "vicibus alternis" (Sen. *Oed.* 689; *Phaed.* 1028).

VIA

Via, used figuratively, may have much the same force as *modo*: "qua via istuc facies" (Ter. *Phor.* 566); "nec alia via < = otherwise > magis in κακοζήλιαν itur" (Quint. viii. 6. 73). The adverbial use of *via* was so clear that finally its adjective alone became an adverb: "recta < = recta via > perge in exsilium" (Cic. *Cat.* i. 9. 23).

VI¹

Several uses of *vi* are listed as adverbial by Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin, The Cases*, p. 311: "vadunt solida vi" (Enn. Ann. 273); "vi summa rapiebat domum" (Plautus *Merc.* 45); "detrusus tota vi deiectusque Italia" (Lucil. 825 Marx).

Lucretius, too, uses the construction: "non temere ulla vi < = ullo modo > convinci posse putabant" (5. 1178). *Qua vi* is apparently used with the force of *quo modo*, although its exact meaning is at times hard to determine: e.g., "quo pacto fiant et qua vi quaeque gerantur" (Lucr. 1. 568; cf. 2. 549; 5. 77; 6. 380). In the following sentence *summa vi* seems to approximate *summo opere*: "Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur" (Liv. i. 56. 13).

¹ Cf. μένει and θένει, Shorey, p. 91.

FATO, MORTE, CLADE, FUNERE¹

Professor Shorey lists a group composed of words for death, doom, fate, etc. In Latin one hesitates to stress the modal character of such expressions, yet the writer is quoting a few which may be compared with Professor Shorey's citations from the Greek. The chief idea is, however, clearly in the adjective, since we find the same adjective used with *mors*, *fatum*, and *funus*. The selection of the noun is a question of meter rather than of sense: e.g., "vivere qui debent, fato moriuntur acerbo" (Chol., 642): "acerbo funere lapsus" (Chol., 351); "ego morte acerba peri" (Chol., 1157); "ambo per invidiam crudeli funere rapti" (Chol., 408); "una dies adimit crudeli clade peremtus" (Chol., 258); "miserando funere rapti" (Chol., 1001).

FIDE

Fide, a word of a far different character, is used at times in a manner suggesting *mente*: e.g., "Accipe qui pura norit amare fide" (Ov. *Am.* i. 3. 6; cf. "Quem pura mente parentes optabant" [Anthol. 770]).² *Fide* is employed much more freely in this way by Seneca: e.g., "quidquid amari apparo | Penitus recondas et fide tacita premas" (Herc. *Oet.* 476-77; cf. "tacita mente rogat" [Tibull. iv. 6. 16]); "Quos iam tenet Poppaea concordi fide?" (Oct. 791); "sceptra casta vidua tutari fide" (*Ag.* 111); "tibi muta fide longas Eleusin tacita iactabit faces" (Herc. *Fur.* 301); "casta fide servans torum natosque magnanimi Herculis" (Herc. *Fur.* 309). Perhaps this usage was chiefly colloquial. At all events it is common in inscriptions: e.g., "quaque fide vixit, mors fuit indicium" (*CIL*, VI, 25570); "una fide coluit" (*CIL*, VI, 25427); "casta fide semper toru maritale dilexit" (*CIL*, VI, 12853).

ITER

The suffix *-iter* or *-ter*, which used to be regarded by some authorities as the accusative of the noun *iter* (hence *breviter*, "short-wise," cf. *kurz-weg*: see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 549), might readily

¹ Cf. Shorey, p. 91.

² In the following quotation (Tibull. ii. 3. 61-62) *nulla fide* almost equals "in no wise":

"At tibi dura seges Nemesim qui abducis ab urbe,
Persolvat nulla semina certa fide."

have provided the Romance languages with an adverbial suffix. It made great inroads on the domains of the suffix *-e*: e.g., *duriter*, *largiter*, *humaniter*, *firmiter*, *insaniter*, *severiter*, *avariter*, *saeviter*, *maestiter*, *puriter*, *miseriter*, etc.¹ Even *faciliter* is used by Vitruvius (1. 43 *et passim*), a form which is censured by Quintilian (i. 6. 17).

how IN LATIN

By some strange anomaly the Latin never developed for general use a short handy word for *how*. (The ablative *qui* and the interrogative use of *ut* are comparatively rare.) As a consequence it had to use two words for the idea. Besides the common *quo modo* and *quo pacto*, we find other ways of saying *how*: e.g., "*Quo . . . more de capite civis indemnati tulisti?*" (Cic. *Dom.* 16. 43); "*quibus moribus moratam?*" (Ter. *Hec.* 644); "*indutiarum autem vocabulum qua sit ratione factum, iam diu est cum quaerimus?*" (Gell. *Noct. Att.* i. 25. 12); "*Qua mente . . . profectae?*" (Cic. *Fam.* xii. 15. 4); "*Qua via istuc facies?*" (Ter. *Phor.* 566).

Qua vi seems to be used with about the same force in Lucretius: "*Hoc est igniferi naturam fulminis ipsam Perspicere et qua vi faciat rem quamque videre?*" (6. 379-80; cf. 1. 129, 568; 5. 77). Instances of *qua opera* and *quo genere* have already been given.

The Latin did not have enough adverbs to meet all requirements. As a substitute the ablative of manner was used. With the development of this construction, there was an increasing tendency to make of the nouns pegs on which to suspend the main ideas. The peg thus became a mere mechanical device and it was immaterial whether the peg was the word for a part of the body or some abstract word denoting method, manner, agreement, etc.

With the parts of the body the explanation of this usage is not to be found in syntax so much as in popular beliefs and folklore. Many aspects of our physical, mental, and emotional life had their seats falsely attributed to the *pectus*, *cor*, *mens*, or *animus*. Hence one did things with such and such a breast, heart, mind, or soul. In addition the instrumental parts of the body very readily reflect

¹ See Prisc. 1010 P; Non. 510-17. See also Ellis on Catullus 39. 14; Munro on Lucretius 1. 525; Knapp, "Archaism in Aulus Gellius," *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, pp. 167-68.

the mental state. It must be remembered that the Romans made more frequent use of gestures than we do and were more given to facial expression. Gradually, however, as the function of the *mens* came to be better understood, more and more qualities were ascribed to it. Finally adjectives other than those denoting qualities of mind were applied to it and it thus became a full-fledged adverbial suffix.

It is perhaps impossible to account for the ascendancy of *mente* over the ablatives *modo*, *pacto*, *exemplo*, etc., but the question of sound may have had some influence. The liquids in *mente* enable it to impart a certain swing or rhythm to Italian adverbs. One cannot imagine an adverbial suffix which could come more trippingly off the lips than does *-mente* in the Italian.

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